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#### THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

## A STUDY OF CONFORMITY-DEVIANCE WITH REGARD TO EDUCATIONAL INTENTIONS

by

#### ILSE MYRA LASKIN

#### A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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#### UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

#### FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Study of Conformity-Deviance with Regard to Educational Intentions" submitted by Ilse Myra Laskin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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#### ABSTRACT

This study of 430 Edmonton High School boys was an attempt, first, to replicate the findings of previous research concerning the relationship of several factors to the development of their educational intentions. The factors studied were: boys' perceptions of their parents' interest in their higher education, boys' intelligence (measured by the Vocabulary Test from the Stanford-Binet), familys' socioeconomic status, religious affiliation, religiosity, programme in school, ethnic origin of father's family, level of father's formal education, level of mother's formal education, and boys' planned occupation.

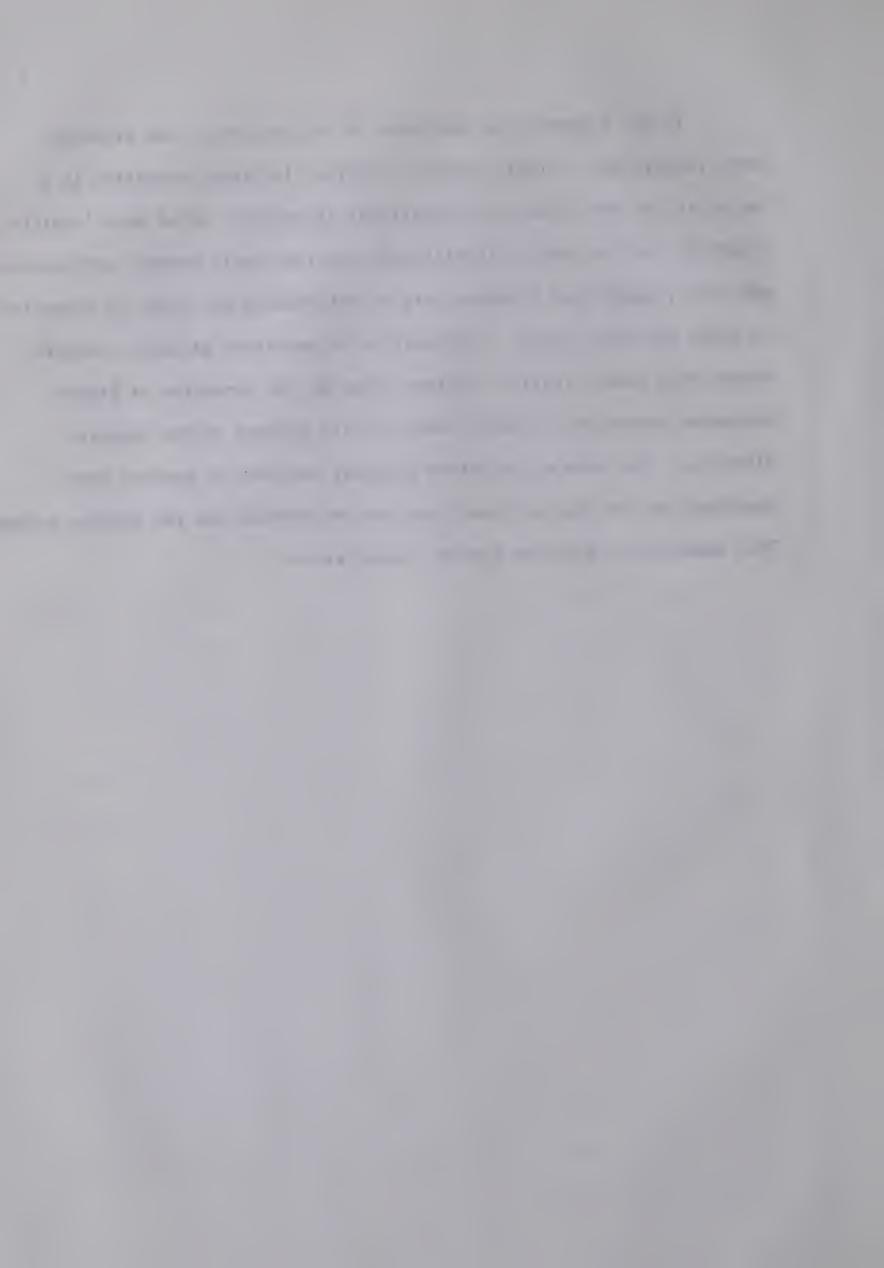
All the findings were supported with the exception of religious affiliation, perceived parental interest in higher education, and ethnic origin of father's family. The selectivity of the sample is offered as a possible explanation of this lack of support.

Second using these variables, we attempted to differentiate those boys who conformed with their parents' apparent wishes regarding higher education from those who deviated from this pressure.

In this case we were perhaps restricted by the lack of sufficient representation in two of the four possible categories, that is, there were not enough 'high educational intentions and deviant' and 'low educational intentions and conforming' boys. However, we found that with the exception of religiosity and ethnic origin of father's family there was a positive relationship between the 'objective' factors studied and agreement or disagreement with perceived parental wishes regarding higher education.

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It was suggested on the basis of our analysis, that although boys' perceptions of their parents' interest in higher education is a factor in the development of educational intentions, other more 'reality-oriented' factors such as intelligence, socioeconomic status, and parents' education, might play a larger role in determining the level of education to which the boys aspire. Conformity with perceived parental interest occurs when these 'reality' factors press in the direction of higher education anyway and deviance when they are pointed in the opposite direction. The role of perceived parental interest is perhaps most important in the case of those boys who are between the two extreme groups. This possibility deserves further investigation.



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#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

#### Purposes

This thesis is concerned with certain social factors found in the family that appear to be closely related to the expressed intentions of boys to continue their education beyond the high school level.

The concerns of this thesis are, first, to ascertain the extent to which the findings of other research, principally American, with regard to the effect of selected 'social factors' on level of educational intentions are supported in a Canadian sample.

Second, using a measure of conformity-deviance described in Chapter III, we shall attempt to test a popular socio-psychological assumption concerning the impact of perceived parental interest vis-à-vis other determinants of educational intention.

Although some of the studies of academic intentions have included data on girls as well as boys, these data are excluded from this investigation since too many other factors confound the determination of female aspiration level. Ralph Turner, suggests, for example, that ambition in women can differ from that in men in at least two ways: "First, the nature of ambition may be different in women, perhaps in degree, in goal, and in means to the goal. Second, women's ambition may be more differentiated or segmented, so that a typical individual simultaneously pursues different ambitions which have little relation to one another. 1

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On the basis of the insight provided by Turner and other investigators, this study is limited to the educational plans of boys.

#### The Study

The data on which this thesis is based were collected using a questionnaire designed and administered by the author or some other adult. Four hundred and thirty male Edmonton high school students were asked to complete the schedule which inquired into factors related to their educational plans and their family background.

### Justification of the Study

The concerns of this thesis can be justified from several points of view. One relates to the purposes outlined above. There is still much to be learned about the process of socialization and its relationship to such important decisions as whether to pursue a university education. Much has been written on the subject but the interconnection of factors, their order, and their 'valence' remain largely in the realm of the unknown.

A second justification is in terms of our pursuing a hitherto untouched area -- that of conformity with and deviance from perceived parental interest with regard to educational intentions. The study on which our investigation is based and which provided the 'inspiration' for ours was concerned with another area of behaviour -- that of voting. Its particular rationale is discussed more fully in Chapters III and V.

Third, there is a practical justification with reference to the general goals of society and the solution of its social problems.

The current concern with 'school dropouts' and the consequent loss of

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skilled labour needed in our rapidly expanding industrial society is abundantly clear. It is one thing to bombard the dropout and the potential dropout with propaganda urging him to return to school or remain there as the case may be, no less to pursue a university education; it is quite another to try to understand just what factors, in what combinations, have contributed to the socialization of the dropout.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

- <sup>1</sup>R.H. Turner, "Some Aspects of Women's Ambition", American Journal of Sociology, LXX(3): 271-285, November 1964, p. 272. See also E.G. French and G.S. Lesser, "Some Characteristics of the Achievement Motive in Women", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 68(2): 119-126, February 1964; and Lewis M. Terman, Genetic Studies of Genius, Vol. IV: The Gifted Child Grows Up, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947.
- <sup>2</sup>R.P. Kelvin, "The Non-Conforming Voter", <u>New Society</u>, November 25, 1965, pp. 8-12.
- Many recent books are concerned with the problem of why, who, and what to do about our teenagers who leave school as soon as possible without even completing high school. See for example, L.F. Cervantes, The Dropout: Causes and Cures, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965; E.H. Erikson, The Challenge of Youth, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963; E.Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent, New York: The Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1962; E.Z. Friedenberg, Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence, New York: Random House, 1963; S.O. Lichter, E. Rapien, and F. Siebert, The Dropouts, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962; and M. Sherif and C.W. Sherif, Problems of Youth: Transition to Adulthood in a Changing World, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965.

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#### CHAPTER II

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### Theoretical Framework

Sociologists and social psychologists assume that attitudes, values, and in considerable part, motives are learned. Research into the antecedents of motivation generally stress environmental sources of ambition. And, of course, the family environment is held to constitute the principal source of socialization. Thus Parsons and Bales state that:

Parents, as socializing agents, occupy not merely their familial roles, but these articulate, i.e. interpenetrate, with their roles in other structures of the society, and this fact is a necessary condition . . . of their functioning effectively as socializing agents, i.e. as parents, at all. . . . the child is never socialized only for and into his family of orientation, but into structures which extend beyond this family, though interpenetrating with it. These include the school and peer groups . . . as well as occupational roles in adulthood. 1

In other words, the family 'gives' the child not only its particular values and attitudes, but also those of the larger society, at least in most cases. Lundberg, Schrag and Larsen suggest that in addition to parents and peer groups, other "social groups and communities" can act as sources of the rewards and punishments necessary for internalizing the values of the society. It is again stressed that, although other reference groups are important in social learning, the family is usually seen as the primary source.

This emphasis on the learned determinants of motivation, usually grouped under the rubric, 'socialization' 3, is a sociological

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attention to the dangers of an "over-socialized conception of man", since "the insistence of sociologists on the importance of 'social factors' easily leads them to stress the priority of such socialized or socializing motives in human behavior."

Wrong's caution has recently been seconded by the British psychologist, Eysenck, on other grounds. Eysenck holds that the popular assumption that attitudes, values and motives are learned ignores the possible contribution of individual differences in human material; at most, the attention to socialization minifies this contribution. He argues that this bias has disadvantaged research into the acquisition of social attitudes. Another psychologist, Hill, while not disagreeing with the major assumptions of socialization, points out that the processes by which a child acquires values remain obscure. It remains conceivable, as per Eysenck, that the same content of the socializing lesson may have different effects depending upon individual differences. We should like to add that 'lesson-impact' may vary with the sociological context in which it is administered.

Despite such lonely cautions, research into the origins of motivation continues to stress the importance of environment in the development of ambition. The possible limitations of family socialization are acknowledged, and our concern is to test the strength of one alleged source of educational objectives, perceived parental interest.

## Conceptions of Aspiration

Scholars concerned with the educational ambition of youth have concluded that aspiration may be multi-dimensional. Its objectives may be material or aesthetic, vocational or non-vocational.

Ralph Turner says: "[It] . . . may be largely striving for wealth or it may be principally the quest for a way of life which is aesthetically and intellectually rich. The theory of social class links these goals together and they are undoubtedly equated to a considerable degree in the ambitions of most." Furthermore, even when ambition is expressed vocationally, it may be in terms of 'low-status' or 'deviant' occupations.

It has also been pointed out by McClelland that there is no necessary connection between level of achievement motivation and efficiency of performance.

Furthermore, Rosen says that the achievement motive does not define achievement-oriented situations or goals. That is, it

" . . . may provide the impetus to excel," although it " . . . does not delineate the areas in which such excellence should or may take place."

Again, according to most investigators, the sources of achievement motivation reside in early family relations. For example, Rosen says that this motivation probably originates in " . . . certain kinds of parent-child interaction that occur early in the child's life and are likely to be emotional and unverbalized."

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McClelland suggests that development of a strong achievement motive generally requires " . . . some structuring of performance standards, some demands by the parents and the surrounding culture," so that the child begins " . . . to perceive performance in terms of standards of excellence." It seems that " . . . discrepancies of various sorts from this perceptual frame of reference can produce positive or negative affect." Even though parental stress on achievement is generally present, it is held that the child must internalize these values and actually see his performance in terms of these standards for the motivation to achieve to be really part of his frame of reference. 13

Whereas McClelland 4 and Rosen 5 suggest that the influence of the parents is a major factor in developing achievement motivation, Cartwright and Robertson 6 tend to place equal stress on the influence of the peer group, especially when the norms or values of the parents and the peer group differ. 17

Aside from the lack of innate capacity and/or structural opportunities which may limit "the achievement drive", Rosen suggests that it may also be restricted by cultural factors. This is, "whether the individual will elect to strive for success in situations which facilitate mobility in our society will, in part, be determined by his values." It is not enough to want to achieve, one must be aware of and willing to " . . . undertake the steps necessary for achievement." According to McClelland the intensity of the achievement motive may also be limited by too great or too small a discrepancy " . . . between expectations and events." We shall have occasion in Chapter IV to see how this operates.

Finally, since aspirations " . . . refer to a future time period," Reissman suggests that there frequently is " . . . no opportunity to check upon the reliability of a subject's aspirations."

If we may be permitted to translate Reissman, we believe him to be suggesting that the meaning (validity) of aspiration deserves investigators attention even though this problem exists. Our present work does not provide follow-up data, but it does contain some validity checks.

To summarize, achievement motivation is <u>not</u> restricted to one dimension of behaviour. It is assumed to be a function of the socialization process, heavily influenced by the family.

Furthermore, if an individual verbally expresses a specific or a general goal -- like doing a job well or being happy -- investigators have used such expression as one indicator of motivation.

Acceptance of this sign as an indication of motivation does not imply that individuals so 'motivated' will succeed nor that all behaviour is directed by a single motive.

## Some Factors Influencing Educational Intentions

As stated previously, it is generally accepted that the family is, if not the most important source of motives, attitudes and values, at least the original source. This early experience is commonly referred to as socialization.

The following sections of this chapter are concerned with some of the 'family' factors which are related to the development of educational intentions. It is important to note prior to this discussion that, as indicated by Larson and Slocum, these intentions are frequently

referred to as "educational aspirations", that is, hope is confused with plan and desire with intention.  $^{21}$  We will limit our discussion to educational plans.  $^{22}$ 

Socioeconomic Status 23 and the Development of Educational Intentions:Although families are assumed to socialize, it is not held that they
do so in a uniform manner, and many investigators see the family's
socioeconomic status as influencing the socialization process.

However, the precise meaning and effect of socioeconomic status for family influence is less than clear. For example, according to Stephenson social class may or may not be a relevant factor depending on whether one is dealing with aspirations or with expectations. He says that " . . . the mobility orientation pattern suggested is one in which aspirations are relatively unaffected by class and, hence, reflect the general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientations, while plans or expectations are more definitely class based and, hence, may reflect class differences in opportunity and general life chances."

Since educational attainment is an important correlate of occupational success, one can assume that this relationship also holds in the case of educational aspirations and expectations.

Also with reference to <u>aspirations</u>, Empey suggests that
"... while the lower-class youngsters aspired to get ahead, they
aspired to occupations at different status levels than those from higher
strata." Therefore, if a 'monolithic' definition of success and aspiration is to be applied to all social strata, recognition of these
relative differences would result in more accurate prediction.

Rosen <sup>27</sup>, Bordua <sup>28</sup>, Kahl <sup>29</sup>, and Turner <sup>30</sup> all lend support to the hypothesis that socioeconomic status is an important determinant of achievement motivation, but Rosen places it second to ethnicity <sup>31</sup> and Turner suggests that information regarding the educational attainment of both parents adds significantly to the father's occupation when predicting the child's level of aspiration. <sup>32</sup>

In discussing the relationship between 'independence training', socioeconomic status, and ambition, McClelland points out that socioeconomic status, as reflected in parents' educational level, does make a difference. He found that: "As one goes up the socio-economic scale (or has more education), earlier independence training is expected." He concludes from this that " . . . children of higher socio-economic status should have higher achievement motivation than those of lower socio-economic status." 33

There appears to be a difference between parents in their attitudes towards 'independence training'. As one goes up the socioeconomic 'ladder', the tendency by the fathers to place more stress on independence is often counterbalanced by the son's dependence upon the father, that is, there appears to be a discrepancy between the fathers' attitudes and their 'actual' behaviour. When the mother transmits the values this discrepancy rarely appears. This apparent contradiction tends to complicate the situation and therefore, necessitates " . . . a considerable elaboration of simple statements to the effect that independence training leads to higher achievement motivation or that belief in self-reliance automatically leads to earlier independence training which automatically produces higher achievement motivation."

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According to Miller and Swanson, there are differences in child-rearing practices between 'entrepreneurial' and 'bureaucratic' mothers. And "... within the entrepreneurial setting... some consistent but modest support [exists] for the judgment that middle-class mothers are more likely than those of lower-class status to 35 emphasize self-control in the teaching of their children."

However, the class differences found by the investigators were not as pronounced as had been predicted.

Investigators have found that both parental and peer group influence have a positive effect on level of achievement motivation. For example, Simpson found that boys from both middle- and workingclass families tended to have high levels of aspiration if they had been subject to positive influence in this direction from both their parents and their middle-class peers. Although both sources of influence were important, he found that pressure applied by the parents was somewhat more influential. Therefore, in determining the intensity of achievement motivation, socioeconomic status cannot be the sole basis for judgment. One must also take parental and peer group influence into account, since the presence or absence of this pressure is a more effective indicator of intensity of achievement motivation It is suggested that this positive than is socioeconomic status. influence is more likely to be present in the middle- than in the lower-class.

In sum, the relationship between socioeconomic status and ambition is not clear-cut. One must first decide whether aspiration or expectation is being discussed and then the relative differences in

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level of aspiration between different social classes may be taken into account. Such factors as ethnicity, level of parents' educational attainment, parental and peer group influence, and 'independence training' all appear to complicate this relationship. Therefore, although information on socioeconomic status (for example, father's occupation and education) is valuable in predicting the level of aspiration, it does not necessarily result in a complete picture.

Perceived Parental Interest and the Development of Educational Intentions:- Another important factor related to the development of educational intentions is the boys' perception of the presence or absence of parental interest in their future plans. McClelland found that while achievement score was inversely related to college freshmens' perception of their fathers as friendly and helpful, there was a positive correlation in the case of high school seniors. Owing to this apparent reversal of opinion in the space of one year, McClelland suggests that the verbal reports cannot be taken as a reliable index of actual parental behaviour, but that this does not negate the usefulness of such information.

Referring to the role of <u>perceived</u> interest, Burchinal says that both educational and occupational aspiration levels are affected by "... the direct and subtle family interaction influences and parental expectations [in these areas of behaviour]."<sup>39</sup>

Further support is given to the role of <u>perceived</u> parental influence by Simpson who says that " . . . [apparent] parental advice is a much better predictor of high ambition than is the boys' social class."

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Although it is usually assumed that parental stress on achievement precedes a high level of performance, Kahl suggests that at least in the case of the upper-lower and lower-middle classes " . . . many parents begin to emphasize college only after their sons have shown evidence of good performance at school." That is, parental stress on achievement seems to follow a high level of academic success. 41

It is important to note that while McClelland, Burchinal, and Simpson are concerned with the subjects' perception of parental interest, Kahl refers to 'actual' parental behaviour.

## Intelligence and the Development of Educational Intentions:-

Numerous studies indicated the existence of a positive correlation between educational intentions and intelligence. And Sewell, Haller and Straus found an apparent positive correlation between intelligence and social class.  $^{42}$ 

There also appears to be a positive relationship between "Need for Achievement scores" and intelligence. 43 Burdick suggests that it is not simply intelligence that determines whether a student will strive to achieve, but also something which may be referred to as "motivating the student". He says that although "the Low n Achievement person can be aroused, . . . it takes more to do it." It seems that information regarding intelligence per se is not sufficient to predict the level of achievement motivation, one must also be aware of the individual's achievement-oriented situation. What is motivating for one student may not be so defined by another.

Terman, in a follow-up study of gifted children conducted twenty-five years after the preliminary investigation, found that only twenty per cent of the 730 men originally studied could be defined as occupationally successful, that is as having made 'good' use of their superior intellectual ability. The 150 men classified as successful (A) and the 150 classified as failures (C) were compared on some 200 items of information collected in 1922 and in 1947. Terman found marked differences in the family backgrounds of the successes and the failures. Three times as many 'A' fathers as 'C' fathers and twice as many 'A' siblings as 'C' siblings had completed college. In addition, numerous significant differences were found in the 1922 measure of the groups in terms of " . . . emotional stability, social adjustment, and various traits of personality." The greatest apparent difference between the 'A's' and 'C's', however, was in their " . . . drive to achieve and in all-round social adjustment." Terman concluded that there is a far from perfect correlation between intelligence and actual achievement.

Once again, it appears that the relationship discussed is far from simple. Although high intelligence might be indicative of potentially high achievement motivation, it is not sufficient for predictive purposes. One must investigate the other social factors relevant to the subjects' backgrounds before safely drawing any conclusions.

Religious Affiliation or Preference and the Development of Educational

Intentions:- Another social factor which is discussed in much of the

literature is religious affiliation. Referring to the 'Protestant Ethic'

and its effect on achievement motivation, Mack, Murphy and Yellin

state that:

We can accept the evidence of a historical relationship between Protestantism and the <u>rise</u> of capitalism, but we cannot assume the existence of any relationship between the Protestant and Catholic ethics and role performance in contemporary American society. The theoretical question which remains unanswered because of a lack of data is whether the Catholic and Protestant faith in contemporary American society exerts a potent enough influence on behavior to be accurately designated 'directives'.

They suggest that on the basis of intuition, one could argue effectively that " . . . the 'American Dream', the mobility ethic, is so strong in our culture that it will override in influence sub-cultural religious dogma." Their results indicate no relationship " . . . between religious affiliation (Protestant and Catholic) and either income goals or work-orientated plans for the future." This seems to show that " . . . whatever influence these two religious sub-cultures have upon their adherents in our society, as far as the Weberian thesis is concerned, is overriden by the general ethos." They conclude that " . . . there is no evidence in these data that the Protestant ethic is participated in any less by Catholics than by Protestants in the contemporary United States." 47

Contrary to the findings of Mack, Murphy and Yellin, Field points out that "the American Catholic Sociological Society has recently heard papers on the comparatively low levels of aspiration of Catholics." If no disparity exists in terms of religious affiliation, this concern on the part of the Catholics is unfounded and therefore, either their concern should be questioned or the results of the above mentioned study 48 should be reexamined.

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Also contrary to the findings of Mack, Murphy and Yellin, McClelland interprets Weber's thesis as indicating that "...

Protestantism produced an increased stress on independence training which produced higher achievement motivation which produced more vigorous entrepreneurial activity and rapid economic development...

religion makes a significant difference, the Protestants and Jews favoring early independence and the Irish- and Italian-Catholics favoring later independence for their children."

Also, based on a study in urban New England, Bordua states that: "We have seen that sex, religious affiliation, and SES are all related to the presence or absence of college plans. . . . we have also seen that these relationships are mutually interdependent." 50

One cannot decide on the basis of the above reports whether religious affiliation does or for that matter ought to make a difference in level of educational intention.

Independence Training and the Development of Educational Intentions:
A further factor related to level of intentions is what McClelland refers to as 'independence training'. Lavin says that independence can be used in the sense of "... the need to make decisions and select alternative courses of action on one's own without seeking the advice or support of others" or "... conformity to or deviation from some group norm." This latter sense will be the basis of our analysis in Chapter VI, but the former is relevant at this point.

McClelland says that there are both intracultural and crosscultural variations with regard to the amount of pressure on children The second secon

is an apparent direct relationship between achievement motivation and mothers' stress on independence training. What seems to be involved here is "... not rejection by the mother, but rather a positive interest in the child's independence, growth, and development." 54

Regarding the development of achievement motivation, Rosen says that this occurs " . . . when parents set high goals for their child to attain, when they indicate a high evaluation of his competence to do a task well, and impose standards of excellence upon problemsolving tasks, even in situations where such standards are not explicit." The relationship is highly complex and can only be " . . . understood in the context of what appears to be a division of labor between the fathers and mothers of boys with high achievement motivation. [These parents] . . . tend to be more competitive and interested in their sons' performance. They also react to good performance with more warmth and approval, or with disapproval if he performs poorly." 55

As in the previous section, disagreement exists with reference to the effect of religion on 'independence training'. For example,

Lenski says that there are religious differences in the age of 56 beginning independence training , while Miller and Swanson contend that "... no appreciable differences [exist] between [active church-going Protestants and Gatholics] in practices relating to the teaching of self-control and personal accountability before the third year of the child's life."

It seems that the role of independence training in the development of educational intentions is neither clear-cut nor agreed upon. Such other factors as socioeconomic status and religious affiliation appear to enter into and confuse the issue. The present study ignores the variable independence training.

Place of Residence and the Development of Educational Intentions:
Various researchers have studied the effects of place of residence (on a farm, in a small-town, or in a city) on the development of high achievement motivation.

For instance, based on their research findings, Haller and Sewell concluded that " . . . farm boys are equally aware of the occupational alternatives available but not equally aware of their educational requirements."

Sewell says that the proportion of high school seniors planning to attend college is directly related to the size of the community from which they come.

Burchinal states that his results " . . . uniformly support the hypothesis that farm residence is negatively correlated with levels of occupational aspiration [and educational aspiration]" and that " . . . there was an inverse relation between farm residence and definite encouragement from parents to continue with education." He suggests that differences in socialization lie behind these apparent differences in aspiration level.

Another factor which appears influential regarding the level of educational intention is differences between the socioeconomic status

of individual families and the neighbourhoods in which they reside.

Wilson says that "because of the sifting of like social types into specific zones within an urbanized area, school districting tends to segregate youths of different social strata." He found that this results in " . . . school populations [which] have modally different attitudes toward educational achievement and aspirations for a college education." It seems that middle-class youths attending 'lower-class schools tended to fit in with the "moral force" that is, the norms of the schools and to have lower levels of aspiration than those middle-class children who attended 'middle-class' schools.

Although place of urban residence is an apparent influence on level of educational intentions, not too much research has been done in this area. Further study might show that middle-class people living in lower-class areas are somehow different from those middle-class people who reside in areas which are more appropriate to their socio-economic status. That is, residence might not be the actual factor influencing lower aspirations but merely an overt indication of other influential factors.

Size of Family, Place in the Birth Order, and the Development of

Educational Intentions: - One final set of variables to be discussed

is family size and placement in the birth order. Rosen 62 and Turner

have investigated the effects of these factors as they relate to the development of a high level of aspiration, but their findings are most inconclusive.

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For example, Rosen suggests that the relationship between family size and place in the birth order and level of intention are 64 dependent upon social class. Although his results were negative with regard to this expected relationship, Turner says that these findings "... may indicate less an absence of relation than the inadequacy of assuming that a given position has the same consequences for its occupant in families of different sizes."

Turner states further that although the results are far from definite, the size of the family of orientation and the child's place within it might have a marked effect on the transmission and 66 acceptance of goals typical to one's social class position.

Knowledge in this particular area should progress as more stress is placed on 'small-group' research.

Although other factors might be related to the development of educational intentions, the above mentioned variables are those most frequently studied. At this juncture it is not feasible to say that one factor is more important than the others, one can merely state that study of these allegedly significant factors may lead to the determination of their relative value.

Most of these variables are considered in the present study and their relative relationship to conformity with and deviance from perceived parental pressure with regard to educational intentions is examined.

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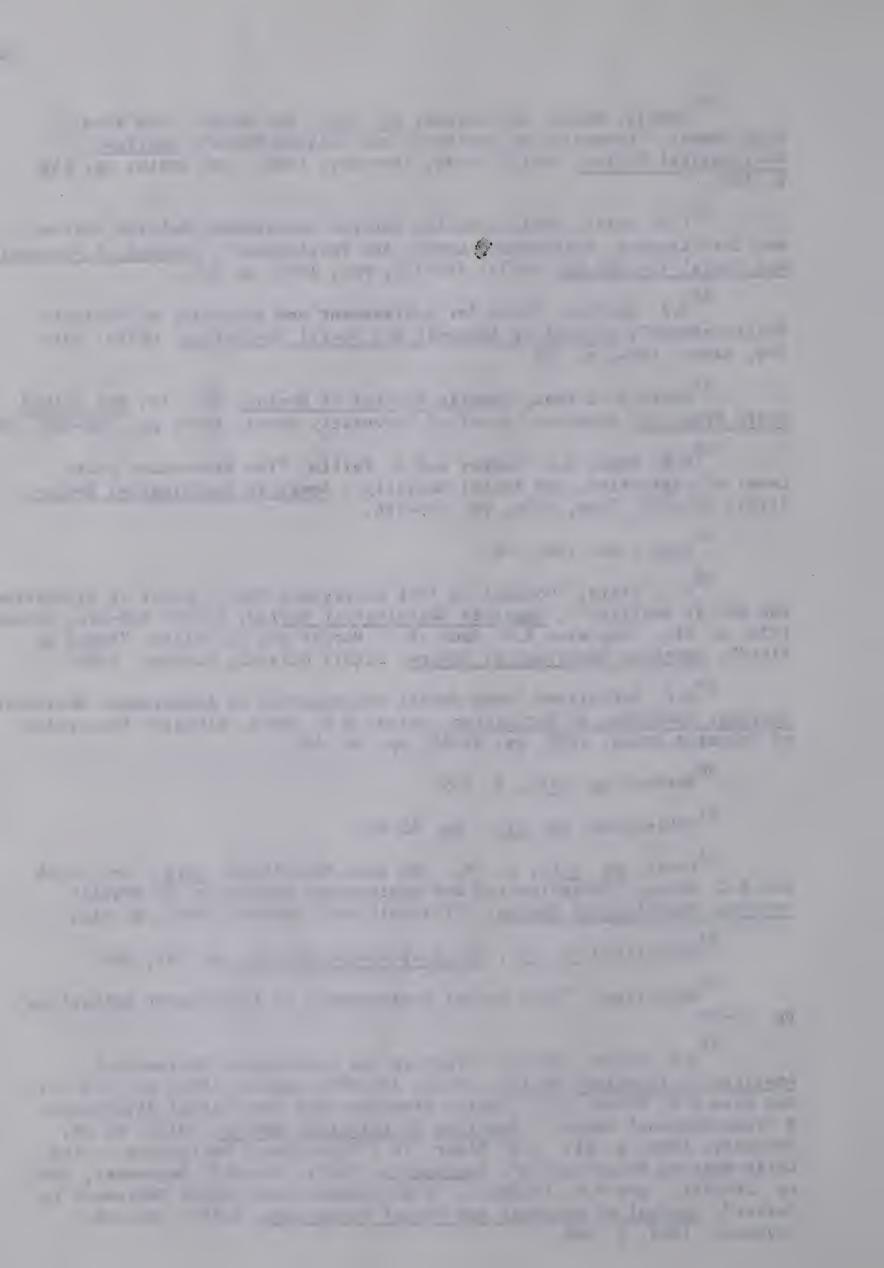
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#### CHAPTER III

#### **METHODOLOGY**

#### Operational Definitions of Some Variables

In the light of previous research and its emphasis on the socialization process, a number of variables have been selected for examination in our study. Some of these, like father's and mother's level of formal education, religious affiliation, religiosity, and ethnic origin of father's family, have been measured directly, that is, on the basis of responses to direct questions. Others, for example socioeconomic status, intelligence, and conformity with perceived parental interest regarding educational intentions, required the use of less direct measures. The means for measuring these latter factors and educational intentions are discussed below.

Socioeconomic Status: - Socioeconomic status was measured by scoring fathers' occupation in terms of an index devised by O.D. Duncan that arranged all occupations on a prestige scale from low to high with scores of O to 99. The scores were then placed in deciles representing the proportion of the male experienced civilian labour force in each occupational prestige grouping. The following cutting-points were suggested by Duncan:

Scores	Decile
0 - 6	1
7 = 12	2
13 - 14	3
15 - 18	4
19 - 21	5
22 - 30	6
31 - 39	7
40 - 49	8
50 - 65	9
66 - 99	10

Intelligence: The Stanford-Binet Vocabulatory Test was used as a measure of intelligence. Possible scores for the forty-five words ranged from 0 to 45. Based on Terman's age-year categories, the following groupings were used:

Scores	Category
0 - 15	1
16 ~ 20	2
21 - 23	3
24 - 26	4
27 - 30	5
31 - 45	6

In using this test for our analysis, we assumed that socioeconomic status somewhat coloured the scores obtained, that is the obtained score was <u>not</u> simply a measure of innate capacity to learn. Rather, the more difficult words were more likely to be familiar to those from families in the higher status categories. Nevertheless, this score is useful since it does give an indication of learning ability and an indication of the 'reality' of the subject's educational objectives. A copy of the vocabulary test is found following the questionnaire in Appendix A. 3

Perceived Parental Interest: - In this study the measure of parental influence was a function of the responses to the questions, "Has your father made any suggestions regarding your continuing your education beyond high school? How about your mother?" The check-list of responses included:

- 1 . . . yes, he's (she's) strongly in favour of it
- 2 . . . yes, he's (she's) more or less in favour of it
- 3 . . . yes, he's (she's) more or less opposed to it
- 4 . . . yes, he's (she's) strongly opposed to it
- 5 . . . no, he's (she's) made no suggestions either way.

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Positive parental influence was considered to exist when there were 'favourable' responses from both parents, or 'favourable' from one and neutral for the other. Negative parental influence was considered to exist when there were 'unfavourable' responses from both parents, or 'unfavourable' from one and neutral for the other. If there were neutral responses for both parents or 'favourable' for one and 'unfavourable' for the other, the case was considered to be neither positive nor negative and was excluded from further analysis.

Educational Intentions: - Following the example of Haller and Sewell<sup>4</sup> and other researchers, educational intentions were measured by summing the responses to the following five questions:

- 1) Do you <u>plan</u> to attend college or university?

  If a positive response was given to the above, then the subject responded to the following questions:
  - 2) Would you go to university directly after high school?
    - 1 . . . yes
    - 2 . . . not sure
    - 3 . . no
  - 3) How long has it been since you have known that you wanted to attend university?
    - 1 . . . more than two years
    - 2 . . . between one and two years
    - 3 . . . less than one year
  - 4) Have you pretty well decided what you are going to study at university?
    - 1 . . . yes
    - 2 . . . think so, but not sure
    - 3 . . . no, or undecided

5) What is the highest degree which you hope to attain by the time you have finished university?

1 . . . Bachelors

2 . . . Masters

3 . . LL.B.

4 . . D.D.S.

5 . . M.D.

6 . . . Ph.D.

7 . . D.Ed.

8...D.D.

9 . . Other

One point was given if a degree was listed and two points if none was mentioned.

The responses to the questions were ordered from the highest to the lowest level of educational intentions as indicated by a combination of the responses, and dichotomized into 'high level of intentions' and 'low level of intentions' at the point where inspection showed a shift from a plus to a minus overall picture. 'High level of intentions' scores ranged from 4 to 14 points and 'low level of intentions' from 18 to 24.

Conformity With and Deviance from Perceived Parental Interest:Based on a study by R.P. Kelvin of the "Non-Conforming Voter" a measure of conformity-deviance was constructed. The boys were first separated into two groups in terms of their educational intention scores. Then the responses to the questions regarding their perception of paternal and maternal interest in their future plans were examined. On the basis of the responses to each of these questions, the two groups of boys were further divided into those who conformed with and those who deviated from their parents' influence. In the case of both paternal and maternal influence the boys were divided into four groups: those high in

educational intentions and conforming to perceived parents' interest (high-conformers), those high in educational intentions and deviant to perceived parents' interest (high-deviants), those low in educational intentions and conforming to perceived parents' interest (low-conformers), and those low in educational intentions and deviant to perceived parents' interest (low-deviants). In addition to the measure for each parent, a combined measure was employed; that is, the boys were grouped into those who agreed with or deviated from the wishes of both father and mother, agreed with father but not mother, agreed with mother but not father.

The result was eight possible categories.

#### The Sample

A more detailed description of the sample characteristics is presented in Chapter IV. At this point it is noted that the sample included a total of 430 male high school students obtained from the following six sources:

- 1) Alberta College (132 respondents)
- 2) Salisbury High School (177 respondents)
- 3) Robertson United Church youth groups (57 respondents)
- 4) Concordia College (54 respondents)
- 5) West Edmonton Y.M.C.A. (7 respondents)
- 6) Edmonton Welfare Council youth programme (3 respondents)

This sample, is, of course, neither random nor systematic; that is, it is not a statistically perfect cohort. Serious attempts were made to obtain the cooperation of the Edmonton Public School Board for the purpose of sample selection, but this assistance was not attainable. Of necessity, we resorted to this 'convenience' sample obtained through the kind cooperation of individuals at the above listed locations. This sampling problem, of necessity, restricts the kind of statistical inference which can be made. Rather than dealing with level of significance, we can only use a measure of association. Cramer's V was the measure of association used, since, as Blalock points out, " . . . it

can attain unity even when the number of rows and columns are not equal."

### Administration of the Questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire used is included in Appendix A. This questionnaire was completed by the students themselves under the supervision of the author or some official (for example, a teacher) previously instructed by the author. The questionnaire includes the vocabulary section of the <a href="Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale">Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale</a> but is otherwise the creation of the author with the help of the literature studied and a questionnaire loaned to us by Dr. Richard Simpson of the Institute of Social Research at the University of North Carolina.

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#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

- Although there is a socioeconomic index constructed by Bernard Blishen, it was decided that the Duncan scale would provide more detailed information. Both Blishen's and Duncan's scale are based on the N.O.R.C. index. Blishen points out that when rank correlations were made on United States and Canadian data, in terms of the N.O.R.C. index, the correlation was .94. Therefore, it was felt that although Duncan had used an American population to construct his scale, it would be applicable to Canadian data. Albert Reiss, Occupations and Social Status, Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, pp. 115-129, Appendix B-1, pp. 263-275, and B.P. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of An Occupational Class Scale", Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, (revised ed.), editors B.R. Blishen, F.E. Jones, K.D. Naegele, and J. Porter, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964, pp. 449-458.
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- A.O. Haller and W.S. Sewell judged educational intentions from answers to questions inquiring whether the student "... planned to go to college, when, and what college. Those planning to attend a regular four-year college-level course of training were coded as having high educational aspiration." The selection of a college was seen as indicating the seriousness of college plans. A.O. Haller and W.S. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration", American Journal of Sociology, 26(2): 107-121, June, 1961, p. 115; and W.H. Sewell, A.O. Haller and M.A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration", American Sociological Review, 22(1): 67-73, February, 1957, p. 69.
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#### CHAPTER IV

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

It has already been noted in Chapter III that the sample is not 'ideal' in terms of the usual goals of sample selection, but that it is reasonably suitable for the purposes of our analysis. That is, it permits a test of the dominant theme of socialization theorists -- that parental influence affects educational ambition.

#### School Grade

The sample was restricted to grades 10 through 12. Of the four hundred and thirty boys, there were:

Number	Percentage
106	24.7
88	20.5
236	54.9
	106 88

#### Age

The boys ranged in age from 14 to 19 years and were distributed as follows:

Age	Number	Percentage
14	13	3.0
15	69	16.0
16	91	21.2
17	108	25.1
18	97	22.6
19	53	12.3

In view of the grades used, the large concentration of boys between the ages of 16 and 18 (68.8 per cent) is to be expected. The sample was restricted to boys under 20 years of age since it was felt that older boys were likely to be financially independent of their parents and therefore less affected by the variables under consideration in this study.

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#### Programme in School

It is important to note, with regard to educational intentions, whether or not the boys have enrolled in a programme which will allow them to continue their studies or one which terminates at the high school level. This can be seen as a check on the validity of our measure of educational intentions. (See Table 1 which follows). The distribution of responses for the 430 boys was as follows:

Programme	Number	Percentage
Matriculation	337	78.4
General	34	7.9
Commercial	19	4.4
Vocational	29	6.7
Technica1	8	1.9
No answer & other	3	0.7

Table 1: The Relationship Between Programme in School and Level of Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Programme in	Level o	of Educational	Intentions
School	High	Low	Total
Matriculation	76.4	16.5	63.6
Non-matriculation	23.6	83.5	36.4
Total %	100.0 N = 335	100.0 N=91	100.0 N = 426
hi square = 111.06. With 1	degree of fr	ceedom, p	.001. · V = .5

Thus the vast majority of the boys studied <u>could</u>, at least in terms of their high school curriculum, go on to university if they so desired.

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#### Religious Affiliation or Preference

With respect to religious affiliation, the sample included:

Affiliation	Number	Percentage
Protestant	373	86.7
Catholic	45	10.5
No answer & other	12	2.8

It is interesting to note that since the boys were from Protestant schools, the Y.M.C.A., and United Church youth groups, there might be a significant difference between the Catholic boys studied here and Catholic boys who attend parochial schools. 1

#### Religiosity

A common measure of religiosity is reported frequency of church attendance. Responses to this item distributed as follows:

Frequency	Number	Percentage
Weekly or more	182	42.3
Monthly or more	58	13.5
Major holidays	44	10.2
Rarely	104	24.2
Never	41	9.5
No answer & other	2	0.5

In addition, a cross-tabulation was made between religious affiliation and frequency of attendance at religious services. As would be expected, a larger proportion of Catholic boys reported more frequent attendance than Protestant boys (64.4 per cent as compared with 40.7 per cent).

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#### Ethnic or National Origin of Father's Family

Of the 430 boys studied, the ethnic distribution was as follows:

Ethnic Origin	Number	Percentage
British Isles	227	52.8
German	85	19.8
Ukrainian	29	6.7
Scandinavian	29	6.7
French	7	1.6
Polish	9	2.1
Russian	6	1.4
No answer & other	34	7.9

#### Level of Father's Formal Education

With regard to the educational level attained by the father, the responses were as follows:

Level of Schooling	Number	Percentage
0 - 6 years	36	8.4
7 - 9 years	122	28.4
10 - 12 years	92	21.4
High school graduate	74	17.2
Attended college	21	4.9
College graduate	39	9.1
Post-graduate training	29	6.7
No answer & other	18	4.2

In addition, level of father's education was cross-tabulated with son's level of educational intentions. It was found that of the 253 boys whose fathers had attended high school or beyond, 66.8 per cent were planning to go on to university. Apparently the more education attained by the father, the more likely the son is to plan to attend college.

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#### Level of Mother's Formal Education

The distribution for the 430 boys regarding their mother's formal education was as follows:

Level of Schooling	Number	Percentage
0 <b>-</b> 6 years	11	2.6
7 - 9 years	117	27.2
10 - 12 years	86	20.0
High school graduate	111	25.8
Attended college	21	4.9
College graduate	48	11.2
Post-graduate training	15	3.5
No answer & other	21	4.9

It is interesting to note that there is not much difference between fathers' and mothers' levels of education in the sample as a whole. When mothers' formal education and sons' level of educational intentions were cross-tabulated, it was found that of the 280 boys whose mothers had attended high school or beyond, 70.4 per cent were planning to go on to university. Again, it appears that the higher the mothers' level of education, the more likely it is that the sons will plan to attend college.

#### Father's Occupation

Father's occupation was used as a measure of socioeconomic status, since as Barber points out: "In contemporary industrial society, the single item most commonly used for social class indices is occupational position." The Duncan socioeconomic index, which ranks occupations from low to high prestige with scores ranging from 0 to 99<sup>3</sup>, was applied and subjects grouped into Duncan's suggested deciles. The total sample responded to this question as follows:

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Deciles and Scores	Number	Percentage
1 (0 - 6)	9	2.1
2 (7 - 12),	18	4.2
3 (13 - 14)4	78	18.1
4 (15 - 18)	21	4.9
5 (19 - 21)	21	4.9
6 (22 - 30)	37	8.6
7 (31 - 39)	26	6.0
8 (40 - 49)	58	13.5
9 (50 - 65)	50	11.6
10 (66 - 99)	112	26.0

# Boys' Planned Occupation

The same index of socioeconomic status was used to classify the occupations which the boys <u>planned</u> to follow. The 430 respondents were distributed as follows:

Deciles and Scores	Number	Percentage
1 (0 - 6)	-	-
2 ( 7 <b>-</b> 12) <sub>5</sub>	1	0.2
3 (13 - 14)	15	3.5
4 (15 - 18)	11	2.6
5 (19 - 21)	71	16.5
6 (22 - 30)	7	1.6
7 (31 - 39)	7	1.6
8 (40 - 49)	36	8.4
9 (50 - 65)	43	10.0
10 (66 - 99)	239	55.6

When the ratings were considered in groups of ten from 0 to 99, the sons compared to their fathers as follows:

Prestige Score	<u>Fathers</u>	Sons
0 - 9	5.6%	0.2%
10 - 19	28.5	22.5
20 - 29	7.9	1.6
30 - 39	7.0	1.6
40 <b>-</b> 49	13.4	8.6
50 <b>-</b> 59	7.4	7.0
60 <b>-</b> 69	12.5	8.4
70 - 79	8.8	17.6
80 - 89	7.4	17.9
90 - 99	1.4	14.6

There is a close parallel between fathers and sons in the 10 to 19 and 50 to 59 score ranges. In addition, 32.5 per cent of the boys aspired to <a href="https://doi.org/10.10">higher</a> status occupations than those achieved by their fathers. It appears that a disproportionate number of sons whose fathers have high status occupations aspire to occupations which are as high or higher than those of their fathers. Further, given the popular stress on achievement and status, it is remarkable that over one-fifth of the boys aspired to <a href="https://doi.org/10.10">10.00</a> status positions (Duncan scores of 10 to 19) in keeping with their fathers' occupations.

#### Intelligence

Scores on the Stanford-Binet Vocabulary Test<sup>6</sup> were grouped as per Terman's age-year norms. For the 430 boys, the distribution of scores (with a possible range of 0 to 45) was as follows:

Score	Number	Percentage
0 - 15	39	9.1
16 - 20	108	25.1
21 - 23	110	25.6
24 - 26	98	22.8
27 - 30,	51	11.9
31 - 45	24	5.6

For the purposes of further analysis, the scores from 21 to 26 and 27 to 45 were grouped into two categories. When intelligence was crosstabulated with prestige of boys' planned occupation, it was found that the higher the boys' intelligence, the higher the prestige of the occupations they intend to enter (V = .26). (See Table 2 presented below).

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Table 2: The Relationship Between Intelligence and Prestige of Sons' Intended Occupation, in Percentages.

Intelligence	Low Prestige Occupations	High Prestige Occupations	
0 - 15 16 - 20 21 - 26 27 - 45	17.4 29.5 46.2 6.8	5.0 23.5 49.7 21.8	
Total %	99.9 N = 132	100.0 N = 298 (430)	

Chi square = 29.39. With 3 degrees of freedom, p < .001 V = .26

#### Level of Educational Intentions

As discussed previously in Chapter III, this variable is measured by five questions regarding educational plans. The resulting index was dichotomized into 'high' and 'low' levels of intentions since we could not assume that the resulting scores were interval measurements. Of the 430 respondents, 273 (63.5 per cent) were scored as high in educational intentions and 155 (36.0 per cent) as low. Two boys (0.5 per cent) did not respond to the items used. It is important to note that boys who were planning to go on to technical schools were defined as low on the educational intentions measure since this index was concerned with college plans only.

To summarize, while difficulty in obtaining the cooperation of the Edmonton Public School Board to sample all the high schools and

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thereby obtain a random sample necessitated a 'convenience' sample, the subjects appear to be reasonably well distributed on the items examined. There is no serious restriction of range of scores and the principal known bias operating in this sample consists of the lack of parochial school students.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- Gerhard Lenski, <u>The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's</u>
  Inquiry, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963, pp. 269-270, 274-275, 279.
- Bernard Barber, <u>Social Stratification: A Comparative</u>

  <u>Analysis of Structure and Power</u>, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957, p. 171.
- Albert Reiss, Occupations and Social Status, Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, Appendix B-1, pp. 263-275.
- This category includes the farmers which might account for the large number of respondents grouped here.
- <sup>5</sup>This category includes those boys who are intending to become farmers.
- 6L.M. Terman and M.A. Merrill, <u>Stanford-Binet Intelligence</u>
  <u>Scale</u>, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960, p. 233 ff. for scoring of the vocabulary lest.
- The highest score obtained in this study was 39 out of the possible 45 points.
- In this cross-tabulation the boys' intended occupation was dichotomized for ease of analysis and the occupational prestige score of 40 was used as the cutting point.

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#### CHAPTER V

#### THE RELEVANCE OF THE MAJOR VARIABLES

As was stated in the introductory chapter, one purpose of this study is to ascertain whether the data collected lend support to the findings of previous research with regard to those factors held to affect the development of educational intentions. The cross-tabulations discussed in this chapter are presented in Appendix B.

#### Socioeconomic Status

Our investigation supports the general contention that socioeconomic status, as measured by occupational prestige, is related to the development of educational intention. As can be seen from Table B1, the higher the boy's socioeconomic status, the more likely that he is planning to attend university. (Chi square = 33.26. With 9 degrees of freedom, p.  $\langle$  .001 and V = .28).

However, Rosen's assumption that ethnicity is a better indicator of educational intention than socioeconomic status was not supported (V = .10). (See Table B2). This might result, in part, from the small cell frequencies in all ethnic origins but British. Our results may also be a function of the possibly different meaning of ethnicity in Western Canadian society as opposed to the urban American East.

Turner<sup>2</sup> and McClelland<sup>3</sup> found that the actual educational attainment of the parents was a significant addition to socioeconomic status for predicting the educational intentions of sons. As can be seen from Tables B3 and B4, this relationship was also present in our data.

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#### Perceived Parental Interest

As was indicated in Chapter IV, 91.4 per cent of the sample perceived their parents as favouring higher education. Table B5 shows a somewhat positive relationship between our index of perceived parental interest and the level of educational intention.

It is interesting to note that our data <u>do not</u> support Simpson's contention<sup>4</sup> that perceived parental interest is <u>more</u> influential in determining level of educational intention than is socioeconomic status. As can be seen from Tables B1 and B5, our data offer some support for an association between perceived parental interest and educational intentions, but not to the same extent as that found in the case of socioeconomic status.

#### <u>Intelligence</u>

The impact of social status variables (family income, parental education, occupational prestige) upon children's behaviour is usually compounded by the relationship of these variables with children's intelligence. Sewell, Haller and Straus<sup>5</sup>, among others, report the usual positive correlation between intelligence and social class.

Tables B6 and B7 indicate the anticipated relationship between educational intention and intelligence (as measured by the Vocabulary Test from the Stanford-Binet), and the usual association of socioeconomic status and intelligence is present in our sample, although in the latter case the degree of association is not as large as might be expected.

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#### Religious Affiliation and Religiosity

If it is conceivable that the meaning of ethnic membership for child behaviour may vary with the societal context, the related factor of religious membership or 'religiosity' may also fluctuate in meaning. Because of the continuing debate among historians and sociologists that has flowed from the Weberian thesis regarding the significance of the 'Protestant Ethic', the relationship between church affiliation, church participation, and aspiration deserves attention.

There was practically no relationship between religious affiliation and educational intention, V = .03. (Table B8). On the other hand, religiosity was related positively to educational intention, V = .20. (Table B9). Boys who attend religious services more frequently also tend to express higher educational intentions.

These results are qualified by the possible differences between the Catholics in our sample and those Catholic boys in parochial schools. We may interpret these results by saying that nominal affiliation means little for educational intentions, but religious participation is part of the complex of factors that seem associated with educational ambition.

It is generally assumed that both socioeconomic status and ethnic origin are related to religious affiliation and to educational intentions. When socioeconomic status was cross-tabulated with religious affiliation and with religiosity (Tables B10 and B11), the results were similar to those found in the case of educational intentions and both religious affiliation and religiosity. That is, religiosity was only

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slightly related to socioeconomic status (V = .10), while the relationship of religiosity and socioeconomic status was considerably greater (V = .33). (See Tables B8 and B9). However, when ethnic origin was run against the two aspects of religious behaviour, both factors were found to be relevant. (Tables B12 and B13).

In summary, the data gathered in this study conform with the results of other investigators, except with regard to the possible role of ethnic origin, perceived parental interest and religious affiliation in the development of educational intentions.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

- Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome", American Sociological Review, 24(1): 47-60, February, 1959, p.60.
- <sup>2</sup>R.H. Turner, "Some Family Determinants of Ambition", Sociology and Social Research, 4: 397-411, 1961-1962, pp. 403-404. See also D.C. McClelland, "Some Consequences of Achievement Motivation", Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, ed. M.R. Jones, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955, pp. 41-69, pp. 49-50.
  - 3 Ibid.
- R.L. Simpson, "Parental Influence and Social Mobility", American Sociological Review, 27(4): 517-522, August, 1962, p.522.
- <sup>5</sup>W.H. Sewell, A.O. Haller and M.A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration", <u>American Sociological</u> Review, 22(1): 67-75, February, 1957, pp. 71-72.
- Gerhard Lenski, <u>The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's</u>
  <u>Inquiry</u>, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963, p. 234.

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#### CHAPTER VI

## CONFORMITY WITH AND DEVIANCE FROM PERCEIVED PARENTAL INTEREST WITH REGARD TO EDUCATIONAL INTENTIONS

In Chapter IV we described some of the 'social' characteristics that apparently differentiate boys who do from those who do not intend to continue their education beyond high school. These factors, which include socioeconomic status, intelligence and level of parents' formal education, will now be examined with regard to differences between boys who conform with and boys who deviate from the apparent educational expectations of their parents.

#### The Procedure

Sociologists and social psychologists have sometimes clarified the meaning of a bundle of presumed determinants of behaviour through 'deviance analysis'. This method requires that one examine the characteristics of those subjects who do and those who do not conform with the predicted pattern of behaviour.

Models of investigations that have employed this technique include Lazarsfeld<sup>1</sup>, Himmelfarb<sup>2</sup>, and Kelvin<sup>3</sup>. The essence of the technique is to examine typical and atypical individuals in a search for regularities that would explain the failure of the determinants in these non-conforming cases. Kelvin, for example, was concerned with the existence of " . . . any particular factors which predispose people to such political non-conformity" and he describes his procedure as involving the examination of the typical and the atypical British voter in order to ascertain whether there were " . . . any systematic

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differences . . . in terms of their most basic experiences: family life and childhood, school experiences and social mobility."

Our problem then, is to ascertain whether there are systematic 5 differences between the 'conforming' and the non-conforming' boys.

#### The Hypotheses

On the basis of the literature and our general findings which are discussed in Chapter V, we can derive a composite picture of the 'aspirer' as a boy with the following characteristics. He is more likely to:

- 1) have a high intelligence test score (vocabulary level)
- 2) be in the Matriculation programme in school
- 3) come from a family of high socioeconomic status
- 4) plan to enter a high status occupation
- 5) have a father with a high level of formal education
- 6) have a mother with a high level of formal education
- 7) attend church services regularly
- 8) be Protestant, although the relationship was not supported in our data
- 9) be British or Northern European in origin, although again this relationship was not supported in our data, and
- 10) see his parents as desiring him to continue his education.

This composite picture is the basis of our analysis. Note that this paradigm correlates perceived parental interest with a host of 'objective determinants'. It may therefore be proposed that students who conform with their parents' aspirations will 'score higher' (fit the model more closely) while boys who deviate will 'score lower'.

The problem is to determine to what extent this is so for each of the proposed variables. Cramer's V will be used as a measure of the degree of association between the variables.

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#### The Findings

As was noted in Chapter II, Simpson suggests that parental influence is a "... much better predictor of high ambition than is the boys' social class." If his assumption with regard to the effect of parental influence is correct, then the question of conformity-deviance with regard to perceived parental interest should not arise. There should be a consistency between parental influence and educational intentions. But as was indicated in Chapter IV, 91.4 per cent of the parents favoured higher education for their sons, while only 63.5 per cent of the boys were intending to go on to university. This apparent discrepancy between expectations and aspirations is of utmost importance for our analysis of conformity-deviance.

A statistically satisfactory test of the meaning of conformity with and deviance from perceived parental interest would require that 'conformists' and 'deviants' be distributed among all cells of a fourfold table that would relate level of educational intention to conformity-deviance for each variable. Such a table would appear as follows, variable by variable:

	Agree with Parents	Disagree with Parents
High Educational Intentions	A.	В
Low Educational Intentions	С	D

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Our sampling limitations preclude such a test. Cells 'B' and 'C' are under-represented as the following tabulation indicates:

Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest	Number	Percentage
High intentions and agree (cell 'A')	248	57.7
High intentions and disagree (cell 'B')	25	5.8
Low intentions and agree (cell 'C')	4	0.9
Low intentions and disagree (cell 'D')	151	35.1

In the case of parental, paternal, and maternal interest, the majority of boys with a <u>high</u> level of intention agreed with the perceived influence of their parents, (90.8 per cent, 93.0 per cent, and 95.2 per cent respectively). Most of those <u>low</u> on the intention scale disagreed with their parents, (95.5 per cent, 95.5 per cent, and 97.4 per cent respectively).

It would be of interest to ascertain whether a representative sample would yield observations much different from those reported here. This suggestion is made on the assumption that parental interest in their sons' obtaining a university education is, on the verbal plane, endemic -- a function of a popular 'ideology of education'.

Our findings, then, do not consider the interesting possibility that conformists (or deviants) of low educational intention may differ in some systematic way from conformists (or deviants) of high educational intention. Given the low N's in cells 'B' and 'C', this table was collapsed. Cells 'A' and 'C' and cells 'B' and 'D', were combined. This combination compares all conformists as a group with all deviants, regardless of level of educational intention. The possibility of

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contamination of results by this melding of boys of different educational intentions is recognized; however, the small numbers involved lessen the importance of this possibility.

The data were analyzed in three ways: first, with regard to conformity with or deviance from <u>both</u> parents; second, with regard to the <u>father</u> only; and finally, with regard to the <u>mother</u>. The relevant tables appear in Appendix C.

<u>Parental Interest</u>:- The relationship between socioeconomic status, measured by father's occupation, and conformity-deviance with regard to educational intentions was examined. It seems that the higher the socioeconomic status, the more likely it is that the boys will conform with the parents' apparent educational ambitions for them. As can be seen in Table C1 the association between the two factors is V = .26.

When the relationship was further examined in terms of paternal and maternal influence, the positive association was still present,

V = .23 and .24 respectively. In all three cases there was a positive relationship between conformity and socioeconomic status, although the effect of paternal and maternal interest appears to be additive, that is, the V value in the case of combined parental interest is <a href="Larger">larger</a> than either of the single values.

Ethnic or National Origin of Father's Family and Conformity With and

Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest:- In terms of Weber's

"Protestant Ethic" it was felt that those from more predominantly

Protestant countries (like Britain and Northern Europe) would be more

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likely to conform with the wishes of their parents with regard to higher education. As can be seen from Table C2 this relationship was not apparent (V = .06). When the relationship was further analyzed in terms of paternal and maternal interest, there was <u>no</u> apparent difference in the effect of one or the other (V = .06 in both cases).

Level of Father's Formal Education and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest: - It appears that the higher the father's actual education, the more likely it is that the boys would be planning to continue their education and, therefore, to conform with the wishes of their parents. (Table C3).

When the relationship was examined in terms of <u>paternal</u> interest alone, the association was still present but to a somewhat lesser extent, V = .17 as compared with V = .19.

Level of Mother's Formal Education and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest: - As can be seen from Table C4 the relationship between mothers' actual education and sons' college plans is in the same direction as that discussed above, that is, the positive relationship is still present, V = .22. When this relationship was examined in terms of maternal interest alone, the association was still present, but again not quite so strong, V = .20 instead of V = .22.

Interest:- It was found that a positive relationship exists between boys' intelligence and conformity with parents' apparent wishes regarding higher education, V = .27. (Table C5). When the relationship was further analyzed in terms of conformity with paternal and maternal

interest, the relationship of intelligence to conformity was slightly stronger in the case of maternal interest, V = .32 as compared with V = .27.

Religious Affiliation or Preference and Conformity With and Deviance

From Perceived Parental Interest: - Again, on the basis of the Weberian thesis, it was expected that those boys who aspired to higher education and conformed with their parents' apparent wishes in this regard were more likely to be Protestant. As can be seen from Table C6 this relationship was not strongly supported, although there was a tendency in the expected direction.

When the analysis was made in terms of paternal and maternal interest separately, the relationship was still present but paternal interest appeared to be slightly more relevant to religious affiliation and conformity than maternal interest, V = .22 and V = .16 respectively.

Religiosity and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental

Interest:- It was found that variations in frequency of church attendance were only slightly related to whether or not the boys aspired to higher education and conformed with the apparent wishes of their parents.

(Table C7).

When the relationship was further analyzed in terms of paternal influence, the association was still not too strong, V = .13, but maternal interest was somewhat more related, V = .15. It is interesting to note that both paternal and maternal interest are somewhat more associated than is combined parental interest.

Boys' Planned Occupation and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest: As can be seen from Table C8 there is a strong positive relationship, V = .46, between the prestige of the boys' planned occupation and their college plans and the tendency to conform with perceived parental wishes. When the analysis was made separately for paternal and maternal interest, a positive relationship was still apparent in each case, V = .42 and V = .48 respectively. It again appears that the relationship of maternal interest to conformity is slightly stronger than that of paternal interest.

Programme in School and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived

Parental Interest: - As can be seen from Table C9 those boys who conform with their parents' wishes are more likely to be in a Matriculation programme than those who deviate from this influence, V = .45.

Paternal and maternal influence are also positively related to school curriculum. However, the difference in effect of maternal interest was only slightly greater than that of paternal interest, V = .47 and V = .45 respectively.

To summarize, it is noted that 'social differences' appear to exist between those boys who conform with and those who deviate from the apparent wishes of their parents regarding obtaining a university education. However, the impact of religiosity and ethnic origin of the father's family was not marked.

Our restricted 'deviance analysis' points to the force of 'objective' social factors in determining the boys' educational objectives. It calls into question the oft-cited importance of 'subjective'

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determinants such as 'perceived parental interest'. (See Table 3 below).

Table 3: A Comparison of Cramer's V Values for the Major Variables and Educational Intentions and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest.

Major Variables	Educational Intentions	Conformity-Deviance
Socioeconomic status	.28	.26
Ethnic origin of father's family	.10	.06
Level of father's formal education	.20	.19
Level of mother's formal education	. 21	.22
Intelligence	.32	.27
Religious affiliation	.03	.17
Religiosity	.20	.12
Boys' intended occupation	.51	.46
Programme in school	.46	.45
Parental influence	.11	

Therefore, although the results are not necessarily applicable to the 'world-at-large', we can say that for our limited sample of Edmonton High School boys, the composite picture of the 'aspirer' presented early in this chapter seems supported.

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#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

- <sup>1</sup>P.F. Lazarsfeld, R. Berelson and H. Gaudet, <u>The Peoples'</u> <u>Choice</u>, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- <sup>2</sup>M. Himmelfarb, "How We Are", <u>Commentary</u>, 39(1): 69-74, January, 1965.
- <sup>3</sup>R.P. Kelvin, "The Non-Conforming Voter", <u>New Society</u>, November 25, 1965, pp. 8-12.

4Ibid.

- <sup>5</sup>Conformers are those whose educational plans agree with the perceived plans of their parents.
- <sup>6</sup>R.L. Simpson, "Parental Influence and Social Mobility", American Sociological Review, 27(4): 517-522, August, 1962, p. 519.

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#### CHAPTER VII

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of 430 male Edmonton High School students was, first, an attempt to replicate the findings of previous research in the area of social factors affecting the development of educational intentions, and second, designed to employ 'deviance analysis' in order to differentiate those boys who conformed with from those who deviated from the apparent wishes of their parents with regard to obtaining a higher education.

Our findings support the research of other investigators with regard to all the social factors studied with the exception of religious affiliation, perceived parental influence, and ethnic origin of the father's family. Our results were as follows:

	Cramer's V: A Measure of Association of the Respective Variables with
<u>Variable</u>	Educational Intentions.
Socioeconomic status	. 28
Ethnic origin of father's family	.10
Level of father's education	.20
Level of mother's education	.21
Intelligence	.32
Religious affiliation	.03
Religiosity	.20
Intended occupation	.51
Programme in school	.46
Perceived parental interest	.11

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In the case of the 'deviance analysis', we found the following relationships:

	Cramer's V: A Measure of Association
**	of the Respective Variables with
<u>Variable</u>	Conformity-Deviance.
Socioeconomic status	.26
Ethnic origin of father's family	.06
Level of father's education	.19
Level of mother's education	.22
Intelligence	.27
Religious affiliation	.17
Religiosity	.12
Intended occupation	.46
Programme in school	.45

The expected relationships were found in all cases but that of religiosity and ethnic origin of father's family.

The association between perceived maternal and paternal interest and each of the major variables was measured separately. It is interesting to note that the relationship of perceived maternal interest to the major variables was somewhat greater than that of perceived paternal interest in most cases.

The discrepancy between perceived parental influence and actual educational intention casts some doubt on Kahl's contention that " . . . many parents begin to emphasize college <u>after</u> their sons have shown evidence of good performance at school." Our data seem to indicate that the parents appear to stress college <u>regardless</u> of the realities of the situation.

This overriding stress on educational aspiration is indicative of a general cultural emphasis on educational achievement. It seems that this is what is being measured by perceived parental interest.

This factor is important in determining level of educational intention, but other more 'reality-oriented' factors like intelligence and socioeconomic status carry more weight in determining the boys' actual plans.

It may be suggested that any force of parental influence may be expected to increase as the boy himself is in the middle range of these 'objective determinants' of educational intention. This may be a fruitful area for further investigation.

There are 'sociological realities' and while ambition may seek to overcome them, there yet remains a residue of 'reality perception'. That is, despite what some parents (the majority in our study) may want for their sons, educationally and occupationally, some considerable number of lower-status boys resist these pressures. And their resistance is shown by our data to be 'reality-oriented'. It is a resistance to parental suasion in keeping with such 'real' determinants of what a boy might expect of and for himself as his intelligence, his parents' education and their financial situation.

Our data may be read as a confirmation of the precept that "those who have get". The higher the boys' status the more he wants status-achievement, and vice versa.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

J.A. Kahl, "Some Measurement of Achievement Orientation", American Journal of Sociology, LXX(6): 669-681, May 1964, p.669.

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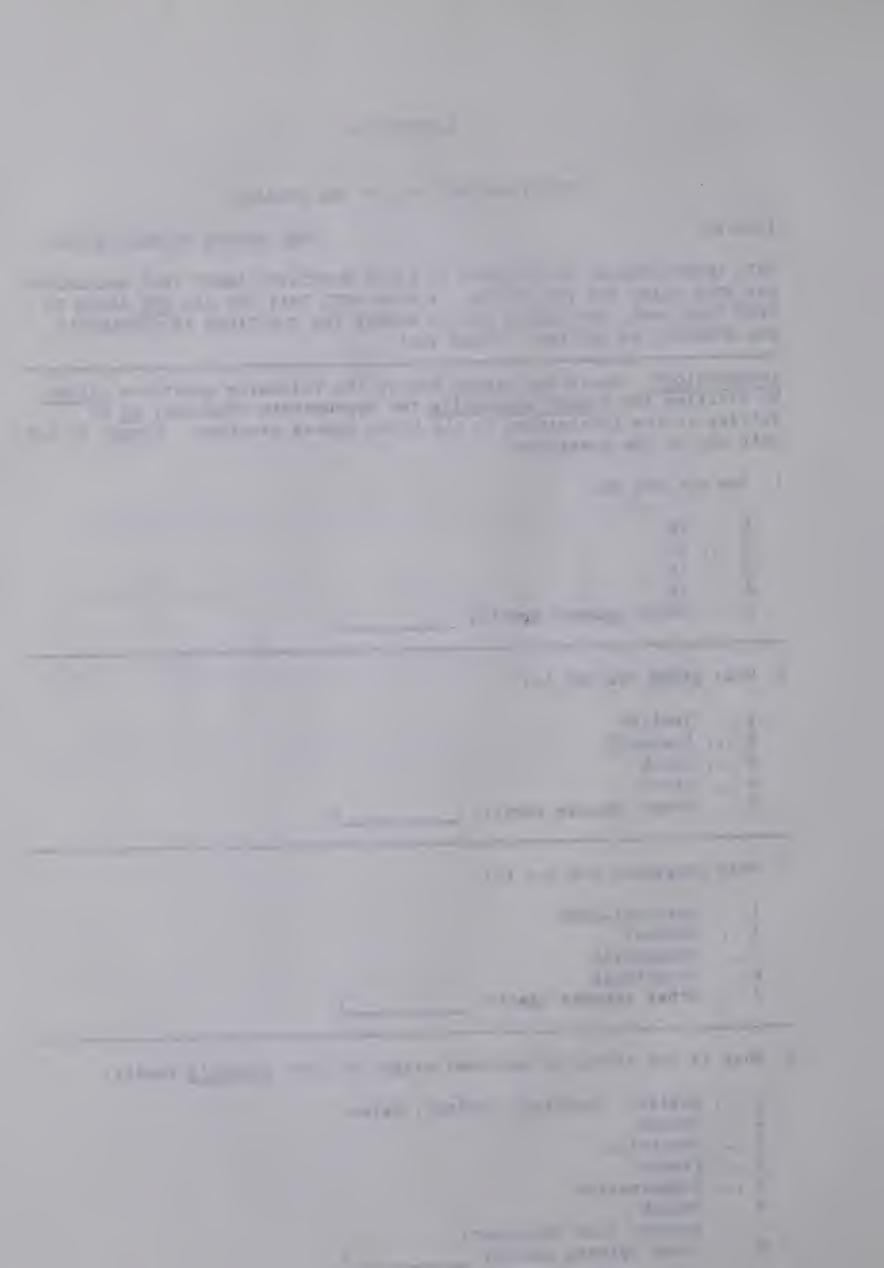
### APPENDIX A

# QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE RESEARCH

1964-65	High School Student Survey
THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS DESIGNED TO LEASAND YOUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. PLEASE SIGN YOUR NAME, BUT PLEASE TRY TO ANS AND HONESTLY AS YOU CAN. THANK YOU!	SE NOTE THAT YOU ARE NOT ASKED TO
INSTRUCTIONS: Would you please answer by circling the number preceding the filling in the information in the blacomit any of the questions.	appropriate response, or by
1. How old are you?	
1 16 2 17 3 18 4 19 5 Other (please specify	
2. What grade are you in?	
<pre>1 Twelfth 2 Eleventh 3 Tenth 4 Ninth 5 Other (please specify</pre>	)
3. What programme are you in?	
1 Matriculation 2 General 3 Commercial 4 Vocational 5 Other (please specify	)
4. What is the ethnic or national ori	gin of your <u>father's</u> family?
<ol> <li>England, Scotland, Ireland,</li> <li>German</li> <li>Ukrainian</li> <li>French</li> </ol>	Wales

6 ... Polish

7 ... Russian (not Ukrainian)
8 ... Other (please specify \_\_\_\_\_)



5.	What is your religious affiliation or preference?
	<pre>1 United Church 2 Roman Catholic 3 Anglican 4 Lutheran 5 Greek Orthodox</pre>
	6 Presbyterian
	7 Baptist
	8 Jewish 9 Other (please specify)
6.	How frequently do you usually attend religious services?
	1 once a week or more
	2 at least once a month
	3 major holidays, but not much more 4 rarely
	5 never
	As far as you know, what was the <u>highest</u> level of formal education achieved by:
7.	Your father?
	1 0 to 6th grade
	2 7th to 9th grade
	3 10th to 12th but not graduated 4 graduated high school
	5 some college, not graduated
	6 college graduate
	and the second s
8.	6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university
	6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)
	<pre>6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)  Your mother? 1 0 to 6th grade 2 7th to 9th grade</pre>
	<pre>6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)  Your mother? 1 0 to 6th grade 2 7th to 9th grade 3 10th to 12th but not graduated</pre>
	6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)  Your mother? 1 0 to 6th grade 2 7th to 9th grade 3 10th to 12th but not graduated 4 graduated high school
	6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)  Your mother?  1 0 to 6th grade 2 7th to 9th grade 3 10th to 12th but not graduated 4 graduated high school 5 some college, not graduated 6 college graduate
	6 college graduate 7 some post-graduate university 8 other (specify)  Your mother? 1 0 to 6th grade 2 7th to 9th grade 3 10th to 12th but not graduated 4 graduated high school 5 some college, not graduated

9.	Please state the major lifetime occupation of your father or guardian (even if he is now retired or deceased, or is now in some other type of work). Please be very specific in describing his major lifetime occupation.
10.	Do you plan to attend college or university?
	<pre>1 definitely yes 2 probably yes 3 uncertain or don't know 4 probably no 5 definitely no</pre>
	With regard to your answer to the previous question (#10) please write, in as much detail as you can, just WHY you feel the way you do
	(Please be sure that you have told quite clearly just why you do or do not think you will attend college. Use the other side of this paper if you need more space.)
nit	E: Questions 12 to 15 are to be answered only by those who defi- ely or probably plan to attend college or university. Others please p to question 16.
12.	Would you go to university directly after high school?
	1 yes 2 no 3 not sure
	How long has it been since you have known that you wanted to attend university?
	1 less than one year 2 between one and two years 3 more than two years

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14. Have you pretty well decided what you are going to study at university?
<pre>1 yes 2 think so, but not sure 3 no, or undecided</pre>
15. What is the highest degree which you hope to attain by the time you have finished university?
1 Bachelors 2 Masters 3 LL.B. 4 D.D.S.
5 M.D. 6 Ph.D. 7 D.Ed. 8 D.D.
9 Other (explain)
16. Has your father made any suggestions regarding your continuing your education beyond high school?  1 yes, he's strongly in favour of it 2 yes, he's more or less in favour of it 3 yes, he's more or less opposed to it 4 yes, he's strongly opposed to it 5 no, he's made no suggestions either way
17. How about your mother? (same question)
<pre>1 yes, she's strongly in favour 2 yes, she's more or less in favour 3 yes, she's more or less opposed 4 yes, she's strongly opposed 5 no, she's made no suggestions</pre>
18.As of right now, what occupation are you planning to take up as a career? (PLEASE BE VERY SPECIFIC)

19. If you have ever received an allowance, how old were you when you first received it?
years old
20. If you received an allowance, could you spend it on whatever you wished?
<pre>1 yes, entirely 2 yes, within limits 3 no, only on certain things</pre>
21. Did you have to account for the money to your parents (or guardians)
1 yes 2 no
22. Have you ever had a part-time job?
1 yes, at age please fill in above.
2 no
23. If "yes" above, whose idea was it that you work?
24. If "yes" to question 22, could you spend the money you earned in whatever way you wanted?
1 yes, entirely 2 yes, within limits 3 no, only on certain things
25. Did you have to account to your parents for how you spent the money?
1 yes 2 no

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26. Did you give any of the money to your parents	;?
<pre>1 yes, all or most of it 2 yes, some of it (not most) 3 no</pre>	
27.Do you feel that you can have friends whether like them? (This is not what should be the case with you.)	
<pre>1 yes 2 don't know or uncertain 3 no</pre>	
28.Do you have a driver's license?  1 yes 2 no	
29. Do you have (or have you ever had) a motor so	cooter or motor bike?
1 yes 2 no	
30.Do you have (or have you ever had) your own	ear?
1 yes 2 no	
1 yes, whenever I want to 2 yes, pretty often 3 yes, on special occasions 4 yes, but very rarely 5 no 6 there is no family car	
32.How old were you when you first began dating years old	
33.Do you feel that you can date a girl whether like her?	or not your parents
<pre>1 yes 2 uncertain or don't know 3 no</pre>	

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yes (What?)
no
f "yes" above, how much time do these take?
about hours per week
your parents expect to know where you are most of the time?
ye <b>s</b> no
you have a 'curfew', that is, a time when you are expected to be ome at night?
yes, every night yes, on week days no
nen you bring home 'bad news' (like any kind of personal loss or ailure), how do your parents react? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC)
nen you bring home 'good news' (like any kind of personal gain or uccess), how do your parents react? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC)
whom do you turn for help or advice when you have a 'big problem'

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### STANFORD-BINET VOCABULARY TEST

On the line following each of the words listed below please write the meanings of the words as best you can.

1.	orange
2.	envelope
3.	straw
	puddle
	tap
	gown
	roar
8.	eyelash
9.	Mars
	juggler
1.	scorch
2.	lecture
.3.	skill
4.	brunette
	muzzle
6.	haste
.7.	peculiarity
	priceless
9.	regard
20.	tolerate
21.	disproportionate
22.	lotus
23.	shrewd

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24.	mosaic		
<b>2</b> 5.	stave		
	bewail		
27.	ochre		
	repose		
	ambergris		
30.	limpet	CAL - 18	
	frustrate		
	flaunt		
33.	incrustation		
	retroactive		
	philanthropy		
36.	piscatorial		
	milksop		- 1
38.	harpy		
<b>3</b> 9.	depredation		
40.	perfunctory		
	achromatic		
	casuistry		
43.	homunculus	- 17	
	sudorific		
45.	parterre		

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#### APPENDIX B

### CROSS-TABULATIONS OF THE MAJOR VARIABLES

Table B1: The Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Socioeconomic Status in Deciles	<u>Level</u> High	of Educationa Low	1 Intentions Total	
1	3.3	-	2.1	
2	4.4	3.8	4.2	
3	15.8	22.4	18.2	
4	4.0	6.4	4.9	
5	4.8	5.1	4.9	
6	5.5	14.1	8.6	
7	4.8	8.3	6.1	
8	12.1	15.4	13.3	
9	12.8	9.6	11.7	
10	32.6	14.7	26.1	
Total %	100.1 N = 273	99.8 N = 156	100.1 N = 429	

Chi square = 33.26. With 9 degrees of freedom, p  $\langle$  .001. V = .28

Table B2: The Relationship Between Ethnic Origin and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Ethnic Origin		Level of Educational Intentions		
32020	H <b>ig</b> h	Low	Total	
British Isles	53.1	53.9	53,4	
German	20.3	18.8	19.8	
Ukrainian	7.0	6.5	6.8	
Other European	13.3	9.7	12.0	
Other	6.3	11.0	8.0	
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	
	N = 271	N = 154	N = 425	

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Table B3: The Relationship Between Father's Formal Education and Sons' Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Father's Level of Schooling	Level High	of Educationa Low	1 Intentions Total
Less than High School	33.2	47.3	38.3
High School	39.9	41.2	40.0
College or more	27.5	11.5	21.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 262	N = 148	N = 410
square = 16.14. With 2 do	egrees of	freedom. p /	.001. V = .

Table B4: The Relationship Between Mother's Formal Education and Sons' Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Mother's Level	Level of Educational Intentions		
of Schooling	High	Low	Total
Too then High Colors	05 1	/ 0 /	21 0
Less than High School High School	25.1 49.4	42.4 45.8	31.2 48.2
College or more	25.5	11.8	20.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 263	N = 144	N = 407

Chi square = 17.56. With 2 degrees of freedom, p  $\langle$  .001. V = .21

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Table B5: The Relationship Between Perceived Parental Interest and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Perceived Parental	Level of	f Educational	Intentions
Interest	High	Low	Total
High	99.6	96.2	98.5
Low	<b>0.</b> 4	3.8	1.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 267	N = 131	N = 398
Chi square = 4.89. With 1	degree of fi	ceedom, p <	.05. V = .11

Table B6: The Relationship Between Intelligence and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Intelligence Test	<u>Level o</u>	f Educational	Intentions
Scores	High	Low	Total
0 - 15	4.4	16.8	8.9
16 - 20	20.9	32.9	25.2
21 - 26	50.5	45.2	48.6
27 - 45	24.2	5.2	17.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 273	N = 155	N = 428

Chi square = 43.99. With 3 degrees of freedom, p < .001. V = .32

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Table B7: The Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Intelligence, in Percentages.

Socioeconomic Status, in Combined Deciles		elligence 16-20			
in Combined Declies	0-13	10-20	21-20	27-45	
1 2	5.3	4.6	8.6	2.7	
1 <b>-</b> 2	21.1	20.2			
4 - 7	31.6	28.4	21.5		
. ,	13.2	12.8	15.3	9.5	
9	10.5	11.9	_	16.2	
10	18.4	22.0	25.4	•	
Total %	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0	
	N=38	N=109	N=209	N=74	(430)
Chi square = 17.70. With 15 degre	es of free	dom n	30.	V = .20	
one oquate - 17.70, when is degre	CO OI IICC	aom, p	.30.	, 20	

Table B8: The Relationship Between Religious Affiliation and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Religious Affiliation		of Educational	
	High	Low	Total
Protestant	88.4	90.6	89.2
Catholic	11.6	9.4	10.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 267	N = 149	N = 416
square = 0.49. With 1 de	egree of freed	om. p < .50.	V =

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	10		
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Table B9: The Relationship Between Religiosity and Educational Intentions, in Percentages.

Religiosity	Level o	f Educational	Intentions
(Frequency)	High	Low	Total
Weekly or more	49.1	30.1	42.3
Monthly or more	12.1	15.7	13.4
Major holidays	9.5	11.8	10.3
Rarely	22.3	28.1	24.4
Never	7.0	14.4	9.6
Total %	100.0	100.1	100.0
	N = 273	N = 153	N = 426
<b>square = 16.76.</b> With 4	degrees of freed	om, p < .01.	v = .20

Table B10: The Relationship Between Religious Affiliation and Socioeconomic Status, in Percentages.

Religious Affili <b>a</b> tion	1 - 2	in (	Loeconom Combined 4 - 7	Decile		10	Total
Protestant Catholic			89.2 10.8		95.7 4.3		89.2 10.8
Total %	100.0 N=27	100.0 N=78	100.0 N=102	100.0 N=56	100.0 N=47	100.0 N=108	100.0 N=418
Chi square = 4.50. Wi	th 5 degr	ees of	freedom	, p <	.50.	V = .1	.0

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Table B11: The Relationship Between Religiosity and Socioeconomic Status, in Percentages.

Religiosity (Frequency)		-	ocioeco n Combi				
	1 - 2	3	4 - 7	8	9	10	Total
		···					
Weekly or more	55.6	42.3	39.0	35.1	42.9	45.5	42.3
Monthly or more	7.4	26.9	8.6	15.8	2.0	14.3	13.6
Major holidays	11.1	9.0	11.4	7.0	20.4	7.1	10.3
Rarely	25.9	17.9	22.9	28.1	24.5	27.7	24.3
Never	0.0	3.8	18.1	14.0	10.2	5.4	9.6
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
LOCAL %	N=27	78 = 78	N=105	N=57	N=49	N=112	N=428
Chi s <b>q</b> uare = 45.98.	With 20 de	egrees	of free	dom, p	< .00	01. V =	: .33

Table B12: The Relationship Between Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin, in Percentages.

Religious Affiliation	British	German	Ethnic Ori Ukrainian		Total
Protestant	93.2	94.1	66.7	77.6	89.5
Catholic	6.8	5.9	33.3	22.4	10.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=221	N=85	N=27	N=49	N=382
Chi square = 27	.66. With	3 degrees	of freedom,	p < .001. V	= .27

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Table B13: The Relationship Between Religiosity and Ethnic Origin, in Percentages.

Religiosity (Frequency)	British	German	Ethnic Orig Ukrainian	gin Other European	Total
Weekly or more	32.2	72.9	25.0	47.1	42.5
Monthly or more	13.7	7.1	17.9	17.6	13.0
Major holidays	11.5	4.7	25.0	7.8	10.5
Rarely	30.8	10.6	21.4	21.6	24.6
Never	11.9	4.7	10.7	5.9	9.5
Total %	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
	N=227	N=85	N=28	N=51	N = 391

Chi square = 54.03. With 12 degrees of freedom, p < .001. V = .37

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## APPENDIX C

## CROSS-TABULATIONS OF THE MAJOR VARIABLES WITH REGARD TO CONFORMITY-DEVIANCE

Table C1: The Relationship Between Socioeconomic Status and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Socioeconomic Status			
(in combined deciles)	Conformity	Deviance	Tota1
1 - 2	7.9	4.0	6.3
3	15.5	21.6	18.0
4 - 7	18.3	33.5	24.5
8	12.3	14.8	13.3
9	12.3	10.8	11.7
10	33.7	15.3	26.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 252	N = 176	N = 428
Chi square = 28.64. With			

Table C2: The Relationship Between Ethnic Origin and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

		Total
83.6	78.7	81.6
16.4	21.3	18.4
100.0 N = 250	100.0 N = 174	100.0 N = 424
	16.4	16.4 21.3 100.0 100.0

	-	

Table C3: The Relationship Between Father's Formal Education and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Father's Level of Schooling	Conformity	Deviance	Total
T	22.0	/ F . O	20.2
Less than High School	33.2	45.8	38.3
High School	38.9	41.6	40.0
College or more	27.9	12.7	21.7
Total %	100.0	100.1	100.0
	N = 244	N = 166	N = 410

Chi square = 14.80. With 2 degrees of freedom, p < .001. V = .19

Table C4: The Relationship Between Mother's Formal Education and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

41.5 0.4 46.3	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	48.2
5.3 12.2	20.6
0.0 100.0	100.0
N = 164	N = 407

Chi square = 18.94. With 2 degrees of freedom, p < .001. V = .22

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Table C5: The Relationship Between Intelligence and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Intelligence	Conformity	Deviance	Total
0 - 15	4.4	15.3	8,9
16 - 20	22.2	29.5	25.2
21 - 26	49.6	47.2	48.6
27 - 45	23.8	8.0	17.3
Total %	0.00٪	100.0	100.0
	N = 252	N = 176	N = 428

Chi square = 31.46. With 3 degrees of freedom, p < .001. V = .27

Table C6: The Relationship Between Religious Affiliation and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Religious Affiliation	Conformi	lty Deviance	Total
Protestant Catholic	87.8 12.2	91.2 8.8	89.2 10.8
Total %	100.0 $N = 246$	100.0 N = 170	100.0 N = 416
Chi square = 1.18. With	l degree of	freedom, p $<$ .30	V = .17

Table C7: The Relationship Between Religiosity and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Religiosity (Frequency)	Conformity	Deviance	Total
Weekly or more	46.8	35.6	42.3
Monthly or more	12.3	14.9	13.4
Major holidays	9.5	11.5	10.3
Rarely	23.4	25.9	24.4
Never	7.9	12.1	9.6
Total %	99.9	100.0	100.0
	N = 252	N = 174	N = 426
i square = 6.05.	With 4 degrees of	freedom, p < .20	. V = .12

Table C8: The Relationship Between Boys' Planned Occupation and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Boys' Planned Occupation (in combined deciles)	Conformity	Deviance	Total
1 ~ 2 3 4 ~ 7 8 9 10	0.0 0.8 11.9 4.8 9.5 73.0	0.6 7.4 37.5 13.6 10.8 30.1	0.2 3.5 22.4 8.4 10.0 55.4
Total %  Chi square = 88.86. With 5 o	100.0 N = 252	100.0 N = 176	99.9 $N = 428$ $001. V = .46$

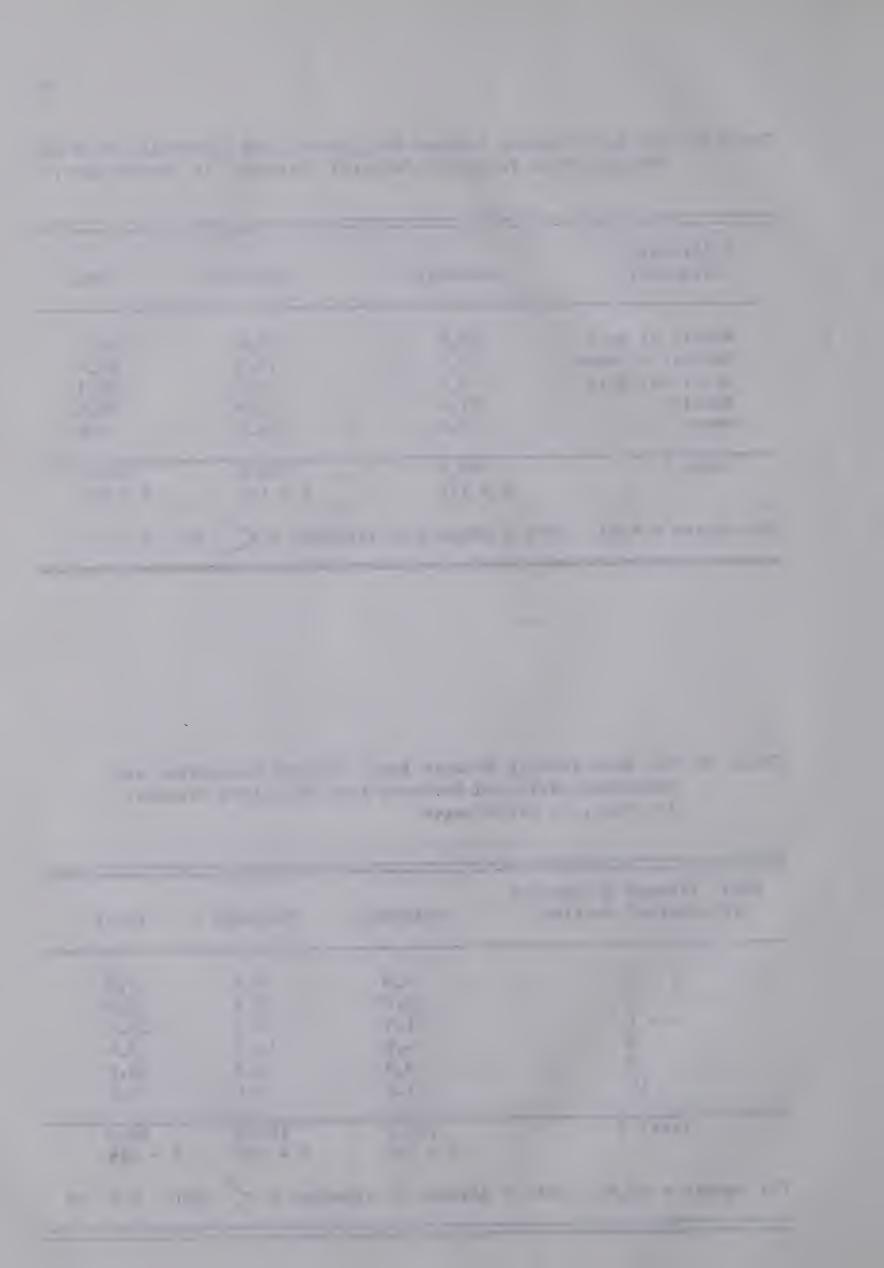


Table C9: The Relationship Between Programme in School and Conformity With and Deviance From Perceived Parental Interest, in Percentages.

Programme in School	Conformity	Deviance	Total
Matriculation Non-matriculation	94.0	56.6	78.6
	6.0	43.4	21.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N = 251	N = 175	N = 426
Chi square = 86.10. Wi	th 1 degree of free	edom, p < .001.	V = .45





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